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**THE ENDURING GRAND STRATEGY OF THE UNITED STATES
REPRESENTED AS A MIRROR STRATEGY**

**By Robert Gresbrink
Civilian U.S. State Department**

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**UNITED STATES GRAND STRATEGY
LAID OUT BY THE FOUNDING FATHERS TRANSFORMS A SMALL GROUP
OF COLONIES INTO THE WORLD'S HEGEMONIC POWER**


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A paper submitted to the Faculty of the Joint Advanced Warfighting School in partial satisfaction of the requirements of a Master of Science Degree in Joint Campaign Planning and Strategy. The contents of this paper reflect my own personal views and are not necessarily endorsed by the Joint Forces Staff College or the Department of Defense.

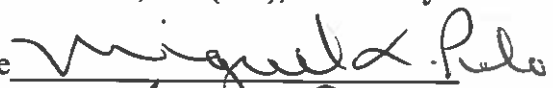
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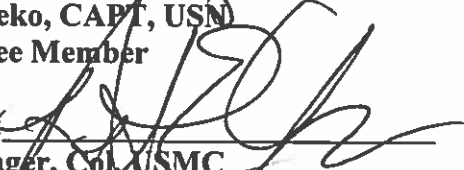
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Abstract

Strategists have discussed American Grand Strategy, or the lack of one, since the end of the Cold War. This paper will use a mirror strategy to show that the U.S. has a Grand Strategy based on liberties and freedoms. It will do this by looking through history at the founding documents, presidential messaging, US law, and US treaties. It will then tie elements of national power to these individual liberties.

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Introduction

Grand strategy, formulated at the highest levels and implemented at the lower levels, provides direction and focus to an organization and helps define the overarching vision of the country. Not everyone believes that the United States currently has a grand strategy. John Gaddis, one of the most influential academics studying strategy today, argues, “The United States does not do grand strategy well and hasn’t had a functioning one since the end of the Cold War.”¹ This paper will attempt to show that John Gaddis’ assumption is incorrect, by demonstrating that the United States does have a grand strategy. It will demonstrate that an invisible hand, which can be described as the American spirit of liberty, primarily guides US grand strategy. The freedoms the American people declared in the founding documents defined a system of government, which, in turn, has organically produced a grand strategy that reflects the will and the spirit of the American people.

In contrast, North Korea also has a Constitution with high-minded ideals, but as Dae-Kyu Yoon observed in an article in Fordham International Law Journal: “the Constitution in North Korea exists not for the protection of the citizens’ rights and interests, but merely as a tool to showcase the superiority of the States system to its citizens and outside observers alike.”² It is not uncommon, even in the most repressive government, to have a founding document that speaks to the common desires of man for

¹ Peter Feaver, “What is grand strategy and why do we need it?” foreignpolicy.com. April 8, 2009. <http://foreignpolicy.com/2009/04/08/what-is-grand-strategy-and-why-do-we-need-it/> (accessed December 12, 2015).

² Dae-Kyu Yoon, “The Constitution of North Korea: Its Changes and Implications,” Fordham International Law Journal, Volume 27, Issue 4 (2003) Article 2: 17.

freedom and respect for human rights, but what is unique in the founding documents of the United States is that they are held as inviolate by the people of the United States.

Defining Grand Strategy

Virtually all definitions of grand strategy are some offshoot of Basil Liddell Hart's rendering in his classic book, *Strategy*.³ Liddell Hart states that the "role of grand strategy," or more simply, "higher strategy," is to coordinate and direct all the resources within a nation, or band of nations, toward the attainment of the political object."⁴ Liddell Hart ties the coordination and direction of resources to a Clausewitzian, political, outcome.

The problem with Liddell Hart's definition is that he relates grand strategy only to a period in which a nation is at war. It also defines grand strategy in terms of the political object of the war. Following this logic, a country only has a grand strategy during a period of war. The definition also implies that the only object of grand strategy would be to win a war. Thus, Liddell Hart's idea of grand strategy does not include a nation's plan to avoid war or plans to obtain political objectives other than those related to winning a war.

A different definition of grand strategy comes from John Lewis Gaddis, who defines grand strategy as "the calculated relationship of means to large ends."⁵ Richard Yarger, looks at national strategy in a less rigid manner:

³ Liddell Hart, Basil Henry, *Strategy*, 2d rev. ed. (Toronto: Meridian, 1991), 321-322.

⁴ Ibid

⁵ Gaddis explained and defended his broad definition of grand strategy in his notes for an address: John Lewis Gaddis, "What is Grand Strategy?" Presented at a meeting of the FPRI-Temple University Consortium on Grand Strategy, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. September 10, 2009, <http://www.fpri.org/articles/2011/01/defining-and-teaching-grand-strategy> (accessed 10 December 2015)

“The underlying assumption of strategy from a national perspective is that states and other competitive entities have interests that they will pursue to the best of their abilities. Interests are desired end states such as survival, economic well-being, and enduring national values. The national elements of power are the resources used to promote or advance national interests. Strategy is the pursuit, protection, or advancement of these interests through the application of the instruments of power.”⁶

Yarger’s perspective on national strategy has three parts: ways, means, and ends.

Application (ways) of the instruments of national power (means or resources) are used to achieve desired end states (ends), which are broad but essential, as assuring national survival, economic security, and national values. Yarger’s perspective is important because of its application to military doctrine.

Following Yarger, and echoing Liddell Hart, US military doctrine refers to national security strategy (described as grand strategy and national strategy) as “the art and science of developing, applying, and coordinating the instruments of national power (diplomatic, economic, military, and informational) to achieve objectives that contribute to national security.”⁷ The essence of a grand strategy is in the rationale it provides for the coordination and direction of resources.

Based on the history of grand strategy and its application in military doctrine, this paper defines grand strategy as the coordination and direction of all instruments of national power, towards the preservation and advancement of the nation’s most vital interests in both war and peace.

⁶ H. Richard Yarger, “Towards A Theory of Strategy: Art Lykke and the Army War College Strategy Model,” The Air University, <http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/army-usawc/stratpap.htm> (accessed 24 December 2015)

⁷ U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, *Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms*, Vol I, Joint Publication 1-02 (Washington DC: Joint Chiefs of Staff, 15 November 2015,) 225.

Introduction to US Grand Strategy⁸

Lord Bryce, Britain's ambassador to the US from 1907 to 1913, said, "The subject of Foreign Policy in the United States is like the subject of snakes in Ireland. There are no snakes in Ireland."⁹ Walter Russell Mead, the Henry A. Kissinger senior fellow for U.S. foreign policy at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR),¹⁰ argued against Lord Bryce's opinion that the US does not have a grand strategy. In the lecture, Mead gave at the CFR titled, "*US Grand Strategy from Theory to Practice, rethinking US Grand Strategy and Foreign Policy.*"¹¹ Mead called this grand strategy a mirror strategy. He states that the United States has followed a grand strategy that reflects the values and beliefs of the nation, and this strategy has revealed itself through time. The mirror strategy by its nature is influenced by strategic culture, which strategist Colin Gray defines as a product of its "geography and resources, history and society and political structure."¹² Gray has further identified within American strategic culture "modes of thought and action with respect to force, derived from perception of the national historical experience, aspiration for self-characterization...and from all of the many distinctively American experiences (of

⁸ Jack D. Kem "Understanding the operational environment: the expansion of DIME"
<http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Understanding+the+operational+environment%3a+the+expansion+of+DIME.-a0213693824> (accessed 2 January 2016)

⁹ Walter Russell Mead, Lecture on US Grand Strategy from Theory to Practice As part of the JHU/APL Rethinking Grand Strategy & Foreign Policy Seminar Series Mr. Walter Russell Mead (Council on Foreign Relations) discussed whether we are shifting from a unipolar to a multipolar world and the implications for global security and US force requirements.

Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory, "US Grand Strategy from Theory to Practice"
www.jhuapl.edu/ (accessed 2 December 2015)

¹⁰ Politico, "Arena Profile: Walter Russell Mead"

http://www.politico.com/arena/bio/walter_russell_mead.html (accessed 27 December 2015)

¹¹ Walter Russell Mead, Lecture on US Grand Strategy; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mpl8TjIJPG4>, (accessed 2 December 2015)

¹² Colin S. Gray, "National Style in Strategy: The American Example," *International Security* 6, no. 2 (Fall 1981): 22

geography, political philosophy, of civic culture, and “way of life”) that characterize an American citizen.”¹³ Government policies reflect the American citizens’ collective desires and beliefs. When combined with values and beliefs the strategic culture serves as a grand strategy that collectively coordinates and directs all resources within the elements of national power to promote the nation’s political objectives in peace and war.

U.S. grand strategy directs elements of national power, through what might be called an invisible hand, created through individual liberties. These individual freedoms manifest themselves in all elements of national power. Application of the elements of national power naturally reflect American values and beliefs as well as the national strategic culture that are the components of Mead’s mirror strategy. Field Manual (FM) 3-0, Operations, “defines the ‘instruments of national power’ as diplomatic, informational, military, and economic, referred to by the acronym DIME.”¹⁴ For the United States, diplomatic power attempts to influence countries to follow democratic principles and promotes the American values of the democratic process, human rights, and free speech. Informational power reflects the values and beliefs of America to the world, for example, the United States 2015 National Security Strategy declares the US will “protect the free movement of information.”¹⁵ Free movement of information is essential to a free and democratic society. Military power defends and protects the universal liberties of Americans; economic power seeks to promote the American interest in free trade and open markets.

¹³ Colin S. Gray, “National Style in Strategy: The American Example,” *International Security* 6, no. 2 (Fall 1981): 22

¹⁴ U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, *Joint Operations, Field Manual (FM) 3-0*, (Washington DC: Joint Chiefs of Staff, 11 August 2011), I-4.

¹⁵ U.S. President, *National Security Strategy* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, February 2015), 17.

There are two broad approaches to grand strategy: the lighthouse approach and the mirror approach. The lighthouse approach is heavily influenced by nationalism and dependent on one individual, or a small group of people, to provide the guidance for directing the resources of the nation. The mirror strategy, in contrast, is more idealistic and collective.

Lighthouse Strategy

A lighthouse strategy is directed by a central authority and provides the path to follow, as a lighthouse guides a ship through the tempest of a storm. Because it is articulated by the leader (or collective leadership), it is easy to identify. A lighthouse strategy requires a leader to “assume the burden of acting with the confidence in his assessment of the direction of events and how they can be influenced.”¹⁶ Otto von Bismarck is a good example of a leader who exemplified the lighthouse strategy. Henry Kissinger describes Bismarck, the chancellor of Germany, as “a leader who acted with the confidence of his judgments and brilliantly analyzed the underlying reality and opportunities in Europe.”¹⁷ Bismarck used a lighthouse strategy to unify the German states into a single empire. Kissinger describes him as skillfully pursuing specific policies with easily identified objectives in foreign affairs. Guided by his clear vision, Bismarck created a Germany so enduring that it survived defeat in two world wars, foreign

¹⁶ Walter Russell Mead, Lecture on US Grand Strategy; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mpl8TjJPG4> (accessed 2 December 2015)

¹⁷ Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 1994, 136.

occupation, and two generations as a divided country.¹⁸ Kissinger also points out the fatal flaw in the dependence on a lighthouse strategy; where Bismarck failed, Kissinger observed, “was in having doomed his society to a style of policy which could only have been carried on had a great man emerged in every generation.”¹⁹ Other examples of lighthouse strategies include Peter the Great in Russia, Napoleon Bonaparte in France, Count Camillo di Cavour in Italy, and Gamal Abdel Nasser in Egypt.

The Source of the Mirror Strategy: Values and Beliefs

Grand Strategy embodies coordinating and directing actions. Mirror strategy coordinates and directs through the democratic process. A mirror strategy involves the total population. In grand strategy, the ends are political objectives. In a mirror strategy ends are the political objectives of the society. In contrast, in lighthouse strategy the ends are based on the political objective of the leader of the country.

A mirror strategy is the antithesis to the lighthouse strategy. It is a strategy developed organically through the democratic process and reflects the values and beliefs of the citizens of the nation. A mirror strategy is harder to recognize because it is derived from observation.²⁰

The source of power in a mirror strategy is derived by the effects liberty and freedom have on a society, President George W. Bush’s economic policy, was based on the idea that freedom and liberty lead to creativity, innovation, and technological

¹⁸ Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 1994, 136.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Walter Russell Mead, Lecture on US Grand Strategy; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mpl8TjIJPG4> (accessed 2 December 2015)

progress, which in turn, lead to social progress, wealth, and prosperity.²¹ President Bush articulated this view in a speech he gave at the National Endowment for Democracy on November 6, 2003, he said, “the prosperity, and social vitality and technological progress of a people are directly determined by the extent of their liberty. Freedom honors and unleashes human creativity -- and creativity determines the strength and wealth of nations. Liberty is both the plan of Heaven for humanity and the best hope for progress here on Earth.”²²

The city-state of Athens, in ancient Greece, provides an example of a mirror strategy, where freedom and liberty led to creativity, innovation, and technological advances, which, in turn, resulted in social progress, wealth, and prosperity. In Athens, matters of state were discussed in open fora in the Agora and decided by a popular vote. Athenian democracy allowed people to act in their interest within a community of equals. Innovation and creativity flourished during this period of Athenian democracy; Athens unleashed the creative potential of their population. The period of democracy in Athens was a time of unprecedented advancements in the arts, science, and history. Hippocrates became the first person to use the scientific approach to medicine by actually studying diseases. Euripides and Sophocles wrote and produced the first dramas in outdoor theaters, Herodotus and Thucydides created fact based history for the first time, Euclid

²¹ President Bush gave a speech in Washington DC at the National Endowment for Democracy on November 6, 2003 in which he advocated promoting democracy in Iraq and the Middle East. He revealed that underlying his argument about U.S. foreign policy is an economic theory regarding the source of growth and prosperity, including the role of innovation and creativity. The Tech Law Journal. “Bush Says Liberty Creates Innovation Which Creates Wealth”

http://www.techlawjournal.com/series/innovation_03/20031118_bush.asp (accessed 2 January 2016)

²² The Tech Law Journal. “Bush Says Liberty Creates Innovation Which Creates Wealth”

http://www.techlawjournal.com/series/innovation_03/20031118_bush.asp (accessed 2 January 2016)

invented the rules of geometry, and Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle developed the art of philosophy.²³

In sharp contrast to Athens was Sparta, which shared common Greek roots, but had a repressive political system and provided little liberty to its people, and made little contribution to western civilization.²⁴

Athenian democracy reflected the will of the citizens that by definition is at the heart of a mirror strategy.

The Spirit of the Mirror Strategy: Democracy and Collective Self-Interest

The year 1776 saw the advent of two significant writings, Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* and the Declaration of Independence. *The Wealth of Nations* explained how the population of a country in a free market economy acting in its self-interest, could operate far more efficiently and profitably. "By pursuing [one's] own interest, [one] frequently promotes that of society more effectually than when he intends to promote it."²⁵ The individual freedom to buy and sell goods in a free market collectively creates more efficient and larger markets. What Smith called the invisible hand efficiently distributes resources in a society where a state of freedom exists to allow

²³ Socrates, "Put to death for corrupting the Youth of Athens," Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/socrates/#ChrHisSocConAthHisDraDatPlaDia> (accessed 12 December 2015); "Advocated for an Authoritarian government in the Republic, Plato's Ethics and Politics in *The Republic*," Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/plato-ethics-politics/> (accessed 12 December 2015)

²⁴ Victor Davis, Hanson, *The Landmark Thucydides, a comprehensive guide to the Peloponnesian war*. New York: Free Press; Touchstone ed. 1998

²⁵ Smith, Adam, *The Wealth of Nations*, Chapter 2, New York City: Modern Library Giant; Modern Library edition 1965

the individual to act in his own self-interest. Likewise, the Declaration of Independence declared the universal individual rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.²⁶

The key to Smith's wealth production was individual freedom. The idea of freedom belonging to the people became the heart of the Constitution, the foundational document that created the framework for a country that not only adopted Adam Smith's free market concepts, but also adopted the notion that freedom, based on natural rights (now called human rights) was/is sustained through democracy. For example, the individual right of free speech collectively creates a free press that oversees government.

The dual concepts of collective self-interest driving the free market economy and a properly working democracy based on individual freedoms and rights are the driver of the mirror strategy.

The United States Foundation and its Relation to Grand Strategy

The founding fathers created a political system where grand strategy naturally lies with the people. Benjamin Franklin remarked on the power of the collective to produce a near perfect strategic document before signing the Constitution, Franklin addressed the uniqueness of the product produced:

"I doubt too whether any other Convention we can obtain, may be able to make a better Constitution. For when you assemble a number of men to have the advantage of their joint wisdom, you inevitably assemble with those men, all their prejudices, their passions, their errors of opinion, their local interests, and their selfish views. From such an assembly can a perfect production be expected? It therefore astonishes me, Sir, to find this system approaching so near to perfection as it does"²⁷

²⁶, We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, US archives, Declaration of Independence, Second Paragraph.

²⁷ U.S. Constitution Online, "Speech of Benjamin Franklin," <http://www.usconstitution.net/franklin.html> (accessed 27 December 2015)

Franklin made clear reference to the characteristic of representative government and its power to produce a political outcome that maximized the benefits of all its citizens, even if moved by selfish views, local interests, and prejudices.

Abraham Lincoln also recognized the unique nature of the structure of the United States government in the Gettysburg Address, in which he characterized the essence of the American experiment as “government of the people, by the people, and for the people”²⁸

How Mirror Strategy Reflects the Grand Strategy of the United States

Liberty and freedom have been the driving principles throughout the history of the America; it is the reason the US fights its wars. President Ronald Reagan drives home the point that liberty and freedom are the reasons why the US goes to war, in remarks at the recommissioning of the USS New Jersey, When we've taken up arms, the president proclaimed, “it has been for the defense of freedom for ourselves and for other peaceful nations who needed our help.”²⁹ It is at the root of all major treaties, and it is an essential component of the United States national security strategy.

Individual rights recognized in the Bill of Rights places limits on government power. Individuals can pursue happiness as they see fit. Government's purpose is to provide

²⁸ Cornell University, “President Lincoln delivered the 272 word Gettysburg Address on November 19, 1863 on the battlefield near Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Transcript of Cornell University's Copy” http://rmc.library.cornell.edu/gettysburg/good_cause/transcript.htm (accessed 27 December 2015)

²⁹ President Ronald Reagan Library, “Remarks at the recommissioning of the USS New Jersey,” <http://www.reaganfoundation.org/reagan-quotes-detail.aspx?tx=2053>(accessed 7 January 2016)

security and promote the material prosperity of the country without interfering with liberty.

Liberty and prosperity are the themes of US treaties. Free trade is the cornerstone of US economic agreements. One example of these Agreements is the 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) that created the world's largest free trade zone between Canada, the United States, and Mexico.³⁰ NAFTA is just one of many agreements throughout the world that the US has undertaken to promote free trade, as a means to strengthen the nation's economy while encouraging liberty. To preserve prosperity and freedom throughout the world, the US has become a signatory to collective defense arrangements through Europe, North America, South America, and parts of Asia. Set forth below is a list of US collective security arrangements and the parties to it:³¹

1. NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY

A treaty signed April 4, 1949, by which the Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all; and each of them will assist the attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force.

PARTIES: United States, Albania, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom

2. AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

A treaty signed September 1, 1951, whereby each of the parties recognizes that an armed attack in the Pacific Area on any of the Parties would be dangerous to its own

³⁰ NAFTA Home Page <http://www.naftanow.org/> (accessed 10 January 2016)

³¹ U.S. State Department "U.S. Collective Defense Arrangements," <http://www.state.gov/s/l/treaty/collectivedefense/> (accessed 10 January 2016)

peace and safety and declares that it would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes.

PARTIES: United States , Australia, New Zealand

3. PHILIPPINE TREATY (Bilateral)

A treaty signed August 30, 1951, by which the parties recognize that an armed attack in the Pacific Area on either of the Parties would be dangerous to its own peace and safety and each party agrees that it will act to meet the common dangers in accordance with its constitutional processes.

PARTIES: United States, Philippines

4. SOUTHEAST ASIA TREATY

A treaty signed September 8, 1954, whereby each party recognizes that aggression by means of armed attack in the treaty area against any of the Parties would endanger its own peace and safety and each will in that event act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes.

PARTIES: United States , Australia, France, New Zealand, Philippines, Thailand, and the United Kingdom

5. JAPANESE TREATY (Bilateral)

A treaty signed January 19, 1960, whereby each party recognizes that an armed attack against either Party in the territories under the administration of Japan would be dangerous to its own peace and safety and declares that it would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional provisions and processes. The treaty replaced the security treaty signed September 8, 1951.

PARTIES: United States, Japan

6. REPUBLIC OF KOREA TREATY (Bilateral)

A treaty signed October 1, 1953, whereby each party recognizes that an armed attack in the Pacific area on either of the Parties would be dangerous to its own peace and safety and that each Party would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes.

PARTIES: United States, Korea

7. RIO TREATY

A treaty signed September 2, 1947, which provides that an armed attack against any American State shall be considered as an attack against all the American States and each one undertakes to assist in meeting the attack.

PARTIES: United States, Argentina, Bahamas, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Trinidad & Tobago, Uruguay, Venezuela

It is important to note that all these agreements were signed between 1947 to 1960 during the Cold War. This period is significant as it shows a shift from a U.S. isolationist policy to a larger role the U.S. would play in the Cold War as the defender of liberty and democracy.

The US also plays a crucial role in many international organizations that attempted to bring about prosperity and development in third world countries. The US is a charter member in both the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, and plays a crucial role. The World Bank offers loans, advice, and an array of customized resources to more than 100 developing countries and economies in transition.³² The International Monetary Fund “works to foster global monetary cooperation, secure financial stability, facilitate international trade, promote high employment and sustainable economic growth, and reduce poverty around the world.”³³ The US support for free markets is central to participation in these organizations.

Liberty and freedom are also fundamental components of the national security strategy. Threats to American interest are portrayed as threats to democratic values while success is related to the advance of freedom. The following quote from the U.S. National Security strategy demonstrates:

³² World Bank, Home page, <http://www.worldbank.org> (December 10, 2015)

³³ United States Department of the Treasury, “International Monetary Fund,” <https://www.treasury.gov/resource-center/international/int-monetary-fund/Pages/imf.aspx> (accessed January 14 2016)

“Many of the threats to our security in recent years arose from efforts by authoritarian states to oppose democratic forces—from the crisis caused by Russian aggression in Ukraine to the rise of ISIL in the Syrian civil war. By the same token, many of our greatest opportunities stem from advances in liberty and the rule of law—from sub-Saharan Africa to Eastern Europe to Burma.”³⁴

Thus, liberty and freedom have been central themes of the success of the United States and the spread of democracy throughout the world.

Why U.S. Treaties Sometimes do not Reflect the Will of the Majority

Mirror strategy only works when it is empowered by rules governing a nation it is reflecting. For the U.S., treaties take a two-thirds majority of senators to ratify. The reason for this was the fear of the founding fathers in entangling alignments. An example of this can be seen in George Washington’s farewell address where he recommended “as little political connection as possible,” except for free trade. He advises that the US should “steer clear of permanent Alliances with any portion of the foreign world.”³⁵ It is for these reasons the United States often is at the front of seeking treaties only to find itself unable to ratify treaties in the end. Below is a list of treaties that fall within this category:

U.N. Convention on the Law of the Sea. (The treaty, which lays out rules for both military use of the seas and extraction of resources)
Went into effect in 1994
Accepted by 161 nations, and was supported by both the Clinton and Bush administrations as well as US naval commanders

Convention on the Rights of the Child

³⁴ U.S. President, *National Security Strategy* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, February 2015,) 19.
https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2015_national_security_strategy.pdf (accessed 27 December 2015)

³⁵Heritage.org, “George Washington’s Farewell Address, September 19, 1796, ”
<http://www.heritage.org/initiatives/first-principles/primary-sources/washingtons-farewell-address> (accessed 4 December 2015)

Entered into force in 1990, signed by U.S. in 1995
Number of states parties: 193 (Fellow non-ratifiers: Somalia, South Sudan*)

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women

Signed by U.S. in 1980, entered into force in 1981
Number of states parties: 187 (Fellow non-ratifiers: Palau, Iran, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan, and Tonga)

Mine Ban Treaty

Entered into force in 1999, never signed by U.S.
Number of states parties: 159

Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities

Entered into force in 2008, signed by U.S. in 2009.
Number of states parties: 112

Convention on Cluster Munitions

Entered into force in 2010, never signed by U.S.
States parties: 71

Optional Protocol to the Convention against Torture

Entered into force in 2006, never signed by U.S.
Number of states parties: 63

International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance

Entered into force in 2010, never signed by U.S.
Number of states parties: 32 (91 have signed)³⁶

These treaties were not signed and ratified due to the system our founding forefathers established and is an example of how the United States political system can override the executive branch, because of the founders feared the subjugation of the will of the American people to a foreign institution.

America's Grand Strategy

Since the inauguration of George Washington under the Constitution, the American system of government has allowed free individuals to act in their interest that has, in turn,

³⁶ Foreignpolicy.com "America the exception: seven other treaties the U.S. has not ratified," <http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/05/17/america-the-exception-7-other-treaties-the-u-s-hasnt-ratified/> (accessed 7 January 2016)

shaped policies that supported the collective self-interest of the American people, functioning in the same way as Adam Smith's invisible hand regulated the market.³⁷ The American strategic culture reflects the will of the people through the structure of the political system. The combination of these two factors has created a grand strategy, as a mirror strategy, allowing the political leadership to allocate the elements of national power in ways that reflect the ideals, values, fears, and hopes of the American people. President Ronald Reagan articulated these ideals in his speech to the United Nations General Assembly: "Freedom is not the sole prerogative of a chosen few, but the universal right of all God's children."³⁸ The political aims of this strategy are to maximize the self-interest of the U.S. citizen to include the protection of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The US commitment to promote democracy and human rights throughout the world, are common themes that are presented to the world via the mirror strategy. The United States exercises its power using diplomacy, information power, military power, and economic power, known by the acronym DIME:

Diplomatic- promote democratic values and human rights

Information- advertise the success of the United States

Military- proportionally sized to protect the United States, and come to the aid of other states sharing U.S. liberties.

Economic- Free-market economy at home and push for free trade abroad.

³⁷ Every individual necessarily labors to render the annual revenue of the society as great as he can. He generally neither intends to promote the public interest, nor knows how much he is promoting it ... He intends only his own gain, and he is in this, as in many other cases, led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention. Nor is it always the worse for society that it was no part of his intention. By pursuing his own interest, he frequently promotes that of the society more effectually than when he really intends to promote it. I have never known much good done by those who affected to trade for the "public good." Investopedia, "[Invisible Hand Definition](http://www.investopedia.com/terms/i/invisiblehand.asp#ixzz3uZjg9Qfv)," <http://www.investopedia.com/terms/i/invisiblehand.asp#ixzz3uZjg9Qfv> (accessed 7 December 2015)

³⁸ Ronald Reagan Library, "Address to the 40th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, 10/25/1985," <http://www.reaganfoundation.org/reagan-quotes-detail.aspx?tx=2068> (accessed 6 January 2016)

To illustrate how the grand strategy of the United States serves as a mirror strategy, each element of national power will be analyzed to demonstrate how American strategic culture influences their application in support of national interests defined by American values and ideals.

Democratic Diplomatic Values: Promoting Democracy and Human Rights

"Freedom is not the sole prerogative of a chosen few, but the universal right of all God's children."³⁹ This message of President Ronald Reagan gave to the 40th Session of the United Nations General Assembly illustrates the U.S. commitment to promote democracy and human rights throughout the world. Common themes seen reflected in society through the lens of U.S. mirror strategy.

The mirror strategy for the diplomatic elements of national power is portrayed in the following illustration:

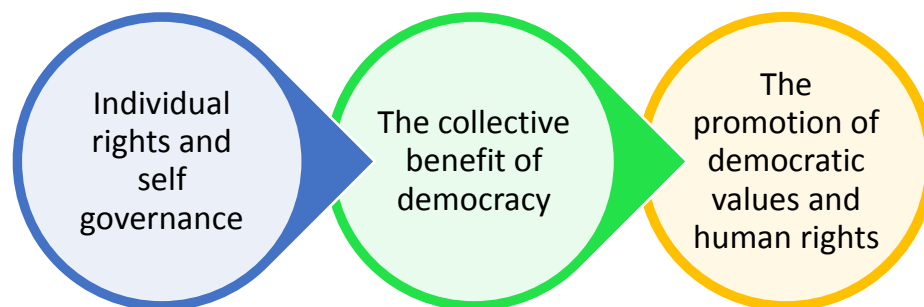


Figure 1 Diplomatic Model

³⁹ Ronald Reagan Library, "Address to the 40th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, 10/25/1985," <http://www.reaganfoundation.org/reagan-quotes-detail.aspx?tx=2068> (accessed 6 January 2016)

Throughout its history, the United States has supported peaceful transformations to democracy. Promoting democratic values across the globe has been one of the American central foreign policy goals. Samuel Huntington, in his book, *The Third Wave*, states that America's "identity, as a nation is inseparable from its commitment to liberal and democratic values."⁴⁰ He documented the thirty countries that shifted from authoritarian to democratic systems of government between 1974 and 1990. This trend only reinforces American diplomatic efforts to achieve a world of free and democratic states. Philippe Schmitter and Terry Karl offer a definition of how an American diplomat traditionally viewed the goal of promoting the ideals of American self-government and democracy: "Modern political democracy is a system of governance in which rulers are held accountable for their actions in the public realm by citizens acting indirectly through the competition and cooperation of their elected representatives."⁴¹ Countries with these democratic values are natural partners with the United States. As democracies, they promote universal values, and support the expansion and protection of democratic values and the democratic process as an "institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide using a competitive struggle for the people's vote."⁴² The democratic process is, in essence, the American concept of collective self-interest, which is exercised through the US political system.

⁴⁰ Samuel, Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late 20th Century*, Oklahoma: Oklahoma Press, 1993, 30

⁴¹ Philippe C Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, "What Democracy Is ... and Is Not," in *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*, Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner eds., second edition, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996, 50

⁴² Joseph Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*: Third Edition, New York: Harper Perennial Modern Classics; 2008, 269

There are many examples of democratic values and free elections overturning antidemocratic rulers without a shot being fired. On 1 April 2012, in Burma, Aung San Suu Kyi, a Nobel peace prize winner, gained a seat in parliament after her party, the National League for Democracy, won forty-three of the forty-four seats and overthrew the authoritarian State Peace and Development Council regime.⁴³ On 27 April 1994 in South Africa, Nelson Mandela won 62% of the votes in the popular election, that overthrew the apartheid regime.⁴⁴ On 28 October 1982, Spain's socialist party won over defeated the communist party, and replaced the authoritarian dictatorship in Spain.⁴⁵ In all these cases, the United States, with the help of other democratic nations, supported peaceful transformations to democracy. In 1776, the United States was the only democracy in the world. By 2011, according to Freedom House, there were 115 democracies.⁴⁶

The following table illustrates how the example of the United States and its promotion of democracy has influenced the world.

Table 1 : The Ratio of Democratic Nations⁴⁷

	Number of Countries	Democracies	Democratic Nations
Asia	46	12	26%
Africa	53	18	34%

⁴³ Open Democracy, "Joakim Kreutz, Burma: between elections and democracy," 5 April 2012, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/joakim-kreutz/burma-between-elections-and-democracy-0> (accessed 16 December 2015)

⁴⁴ CBS News "Nelson Mandela's journey from prisoner to president December 7, 2013, 9:50 PM" <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/nelson-mandelas-journey-from-prisoner-to-president/> (accessed 16 December 2015)

⁴⁵ Brainy History, "1982 in History," http://www.brainyhistory.com/events/1982/october_28_1982_155431.html (accessed 16 December 2015)

⁴⁶ Freedom house, "Democracy on Different Continents, Democracy in the world," <http://www.democracyw.com/> (accessed 18 December 2015)

⁴⁷ Ibid.

Oceania	14	12	86%
North America	23	20	87%
Europe	46	42	91%
South America	12	11	92%

The spread of democracy has been one of the successes of the mirror strategy of the United States, creating a freer and more stable world that supports American ideals and values. For 240 years since the creation of the United States, there has emerged a new democracy every other year.⁴⁸

Information: Promote Freedom of speech at home and abroad⁴⁹

President Harry S. Truman in an address to Congress, asserted the importance of the American belief in freedom of expression as a basic right: “Once a government is committed to the principle of silencing the voice of opposition, it has only one way to go, and that is down the path of increasingly repressive measures, until it becomes a source of terror to all its citizens and creates a country where everyone lives in fear.”⁵⁰ The importance of freedom of speech and the importance for the United States to promote this value to the rest of the world is an example of the mirror strategy.

The mirror strategy for the informational element of national power is portrayed in the following illustration:

⁴⁸ Freedom house, “Democracy on Different Continents, Democracy in the world,” <http://www.democracyw.com/> (accessed 18 December 2015)

⁴⁹ Many ideas for this section came from Pippa Norris, “The Fourth State” in *Driving Democracy: Do Power-Sharing Institutions Work?*, Chapter 8, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 1 edition, 2008

⁵⁰ Harry S. Truman, Truman Library, “Special Message to the Congress on the Internal Security of the United States, August 8, 1950,” <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/publicpapers/index.php?pid=836> (accessed 28 December 2015)

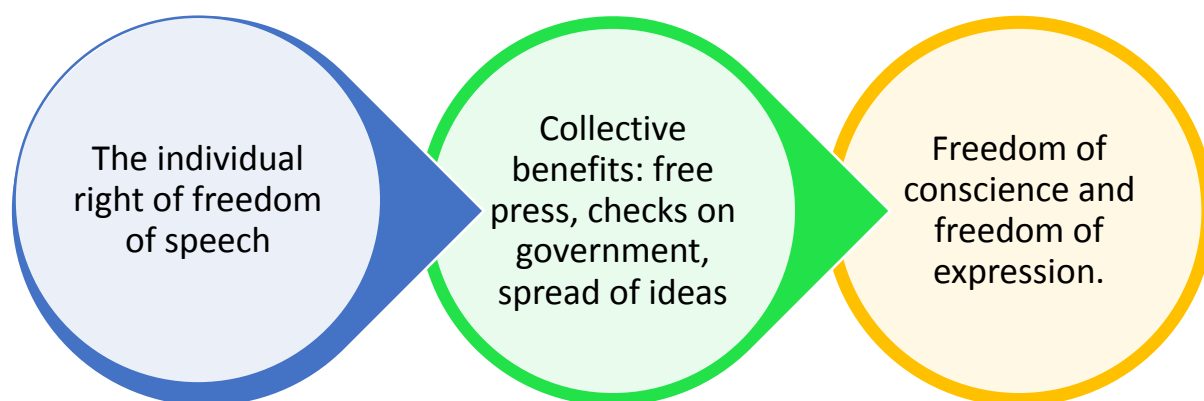


Figure 2 Information Model

Freedom of speech employed by a free and independent press has been a critical part of American life. It provides a platform for political expression and strengthens accountability by reporting on the government and its practices. In the American ideal, there is a direct relationship between the growth of free press and the spread of democracy. The free flow of information, in turn, relates to greater transparency and accountability in governance.⁵¹ By allowing every man the right to speak without censorship, the American Constitution created a free press that added checks and balances to the political system. Dictators have traditionally used fear and repression to keep their population in the dark. As Freedom House observed in North Korea, "listening to unauthorized foreign broadcasts and possessing dissident publications are

⁵¹ Pippa Norris, "The Fourth State" in *Driving Democracy: Do Power-Sharing Institutions Work?*, Chapter 8, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 1 edition, 2008

considered 'crimes against the state' that carry severe punishments, including hard labor, prison sentences, and the death penalty."⁵² One milestone in the spread of free speech around the world is the passing of Article 19 of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights which states, "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."⁵³



Figure 3 Freedom of the Press 2015

Pippa Norris stresses the role of the mass media in transitions from authoritarianism to representative democracy, one example of this development is in Georgia's Rose Revolution, the first bloodless change of power in the Caucasus.⁵⁴ She also notes that in

⁵² The Guardian "North Korea defector radio," <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jul/28/north-korea-defector-radio> (accessed 28 December 2015)

⁵³ United Nations, <http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/index.html> (accessed on December 23, 2015)

⁵⁴ D. Anable. 2006. 'The role of Georgia's media - and Western aid - in the Rose Revolution.' *Harvard International Journal of Press-Politics* 11 (3): 7-43.

Serbia, Georgia, and Ukraine, independent media played a critical role in the successful transitions from post-communist states by drawing attention to news about rigged votes and spreading the news about protests against the authorities. This, in turn, sustained and advanced opposition movements.⁵⁵

The Voice of America, the official external broadcast institution of the United States, was a contributing factor to the defeat of the Soviet Union. Since 1942, the Voice of America played a crucial role during WWII and the Cold War, giving people access to independent sources of information.

The US grand strategy as a mirror strategy represents the American values of limited government responsible to the population due to the freedom of speech and freedom of the press.

Military: Defending the United States, and Democracy Abroad

“The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.”⁵⁶

These powerful words of President Woodrow Wilson were spoken on April 2, 1917, before a joint session of Congress seeking a Declaration of War against Germany, declaring this a key reason the United States goes to war. The roots of the military element of national power have their foundation in the individual right to self-defense

⁵⁵ Michael McFaul. 2005. “Transitions from post-communism: Journal of Democracy 16 (3): 5-19”; Norris Pippa, DRIVING DEMOCRACY – CHAPTER 8, The Fourth Estate

⁵⁶ History Matters, “Making the World “Safe for Democracy”: Woodrow Wilson Asks for War,” <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/4943/> (accessed 3 March 2016)

and the collective right of a nation to defend itself. The United States defends democracy at home and abroad, and protects freedom and peace. These tasks represent ideals of the American people and are part of the American strategic culture.

The mirror strategy for the military elements of national power is portrayed in the following illustration:

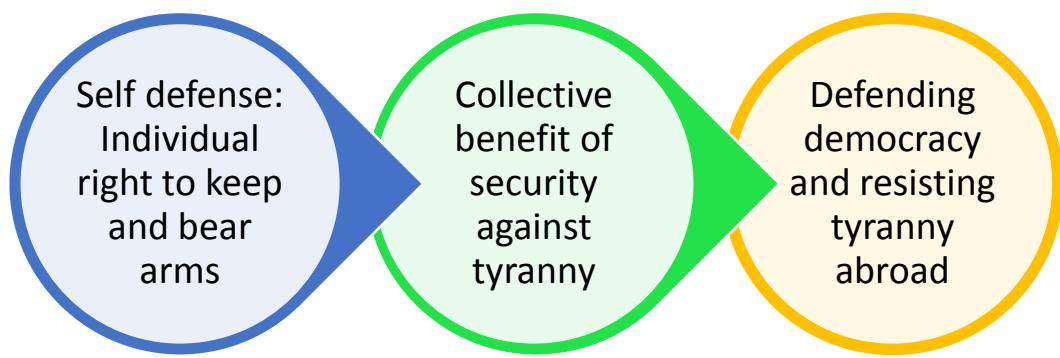


Figure 4Military Model

Collective security did not have clear beginnings. At the onset of the Revolutionary War, some states wanted to limit the role of a standing army. They believed that the American people could arm themselves and be called on to defend the country. In fact, some thought a standing army could be turned against the people and be a threat to liberty. This fear manifests itself in the Declaration of the Rights of the Inhabitants of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, September 28, 1776, states the people have a right to bear arms for the defense of themselves and the state, and as standing

armies in the time of peace are dangerous to liberty, they ought not to be kept up; and that the military should be kept under strict subordination to, and governed by, the civil power.⁵⁷

Not all delegates to the Constitutional Convention even agreed there was a need for a standing army. Nevertheless, the representatives made the commander in chief the President, while placing funding for the military in another branch. Congress was granted the ability to manipulate and control governmental spending by withholding funding, or putting stipulations on the use of funds.⁵⁸ By requiring all bills for military expenditure to originate in the House of Representatives, the founding fathers created a system in which funding for the military would be derived from public opinion. Public opinion, regarding military expenditures, would eventually develop two major components; the first was the level of fear in the American public based on geopolitical events, and the second was the balance between the cost and benefits derived from military spending.

⁵⁷ Yale Law School “A DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OR STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, September 28, 1776,” http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/pa08.asp (accessed 6 December 2015)

⁵⁸ Article I, section 7, clause 1 of the U.S. Constitution “All Bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other Bills.”⁵⁸ Moreover, Article I, section 9, clause 7 “No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of all public Money shall be published from time to time.” United State House of Representatives History Archives, “Power of the Purse,” <http://history.house.gov/institution/origins-development/power-of-the-purse/> (accessed 12 December 2015) ; Adam Smith, *Wealth of nations*. Chapter 2, New York City: Modern Library Giant; Modern Library edition 1965: 117

Alexander Hamilton, in the Federalist Papers, argued the opposing side that a standing army was essential to the security of the nation because the United States faced a number of potential enemies on its borders.⁵⁹

Before the founding of the Constitution, some state legislators wanted to limit the role of the standing army. They believed that the American people could arm themselves and be called on to defend the country. In fact, some thought the founding of a standing army could be turned against the people and be a threat to liberty.

The Second Amendment to the Constitution adopted during George Washington's first administration, provided for both the national defense and the protection of the people from the power of government. "A well-regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed."⁶⁰ The first part of this amendment recognizes and supports the creation of a regular armed force; the second part of this amendment balances the power of the military by guaranteeing the people's right to arm themselves for defense.

These factors become evident when you look at U.S. military spending over the last 100 years.

⁵⁹ "Though a wide ocean separates the United States from Europe, yet there are various considerations that warn us against an excess of confidence or security. On one side of us, and stretching far into our rear, are growing settlements subject to the dominion of Britain. On the other side, and extending to meet the British settlements, are colonies and establishments subject to the dominion of Spain. This situation and the vicinity of the West India Islands, belonging to these two powers create between them, in respect to their American possessions and in relation to us, a common interest. The savage tribes on our Western frontier ought to be regarded as our natural enemies, their natural allies, because they have most to fear from us, and most to hope from them." Alexander Hamilton, The Federalist No. 24, The Powers Necessary to the Common Defense Further Considered, Independent Journal, December 19, 1787.

⁶⁰ Archives, U.S. constitution, Article I, amendment 2

Table 1 military Spending as percentage of GDP

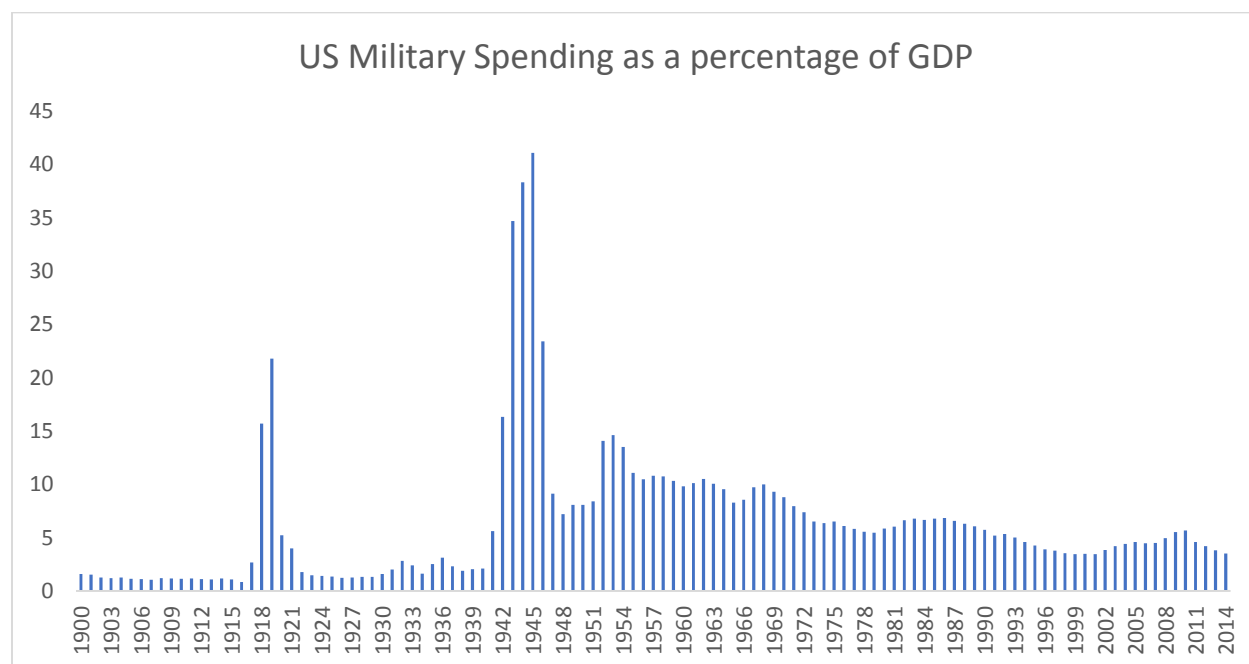


Figure 5 U.S. Military Spending as percentage of GDP⁶¹

It is important to note that each line in the figure above represents a bill that originated in the House and reflected the values, ideals, and fears the American people. Looking at the data, it is easy to see the US moving into a leadership role in the world: World War I isolationism, WWII and the increase in spending during the Cold War⁶²

⁶¹ World Bank “Data gathered from 2011 to 2014”

<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/MS.MIL.XPND.GD.ZS> (accessed December 2015)

US Government Spending. Com “1900 to 2010 government spending”

http://www.usgovernmentspending.com/spending_chart_1900_2020USp_XXs2li111tcn_30f_20th_Century_Defense_Spending#view (accessed 5 December 2015)

⁶² The Iorn is symbiotic relationship between the key drivers of policy, funding and execution. Presidents, Dwight D. Eisenhower warns the US about these realationships" We face a hostile ideology...Unhappily, the danger it poses promises to be of indefinite duration. A vital element in keeping the peace is our military establishment. Our armies must be mighty, ready for instant action, so that no potential aggressor may be tempted to risk his own destruction. We annually spend on military security more than the net income of all United States corporations. This conjunction of an immense military establishment and large arms industry is new in the American experience. The total influence-economic, political, and even spiritual-is felt in every city, every state house, every office of the federal government. We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must not fail to recognize its grave implications... In the councils of government we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by this

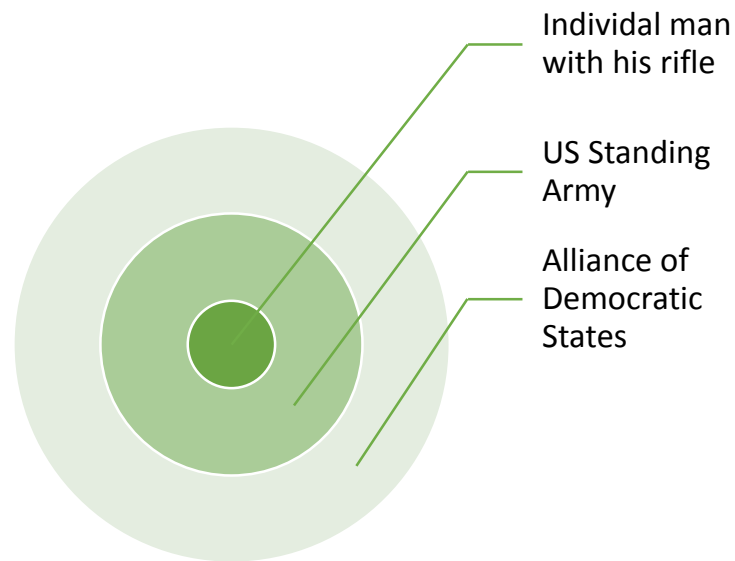


Figure 6 Layer of Defense Model

American military grand strategy, as derived from mirror strategy, is a series of concentric circles of security based on liberties. The inner circle starts with the right to bear arms and a man defending his home and family. The center circle derives its legitimacy through the country's collective right to defend itself with military force. The outer circle represents democratic allies.

military industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist. We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or our democratic processes."⁶² Military-Industrial Complex Speech, Dwight D. Eisenhower, "1961Public Papers of the Presidents, 1960," p. 1035- 1040

Economic: Free market economy and Free trade

“In this new, multipolar world, we can be the world's best innovator; the world's best producer of new products and services; the world's best assimilator of people from every nation, race, religion, and culture; and the world's best example of shared opportunity and responsibility, demonstrating the power of both individual freedom and loose cooperation and proving both the genius of free markets and the necessity of active government.”⁶³

This quote from President Bill Clinton shows the United States' use of individual freedom and the genius of free markets as the way the US employs its diverse population to produce the world's most innovative economy.

The mirror strategy for the economic element of national power is portrayed in the following illustration:



Figure 7 Information Model

American values of enlightened self-interest are expressed in the individual's opportunity to buy and sell in a free market of goods and services. The American free

⁶³ Bill Clinton, *Back to Work*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011), 191.

market economy emphasizes private ownership where individuals produce goods and services based on market demands. The American collective belief in personal freedom has created an environment where private property is essential. Alan Greenspan, the former chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, explained why the collective freedom of each individual to take advantage of the opportunity to buy and sell goods produces an efficient market: “market economies are continuously renewing themselves. Innovation, risk-taking, and competition are the driving forces that propel standards of living progressively higher.”⁶⁴

By recognizing the individual right to own property and to buy and sell without undue government intervention, the free market economy created an efficient system to distribute goods and services. The growth and health of the US economy required the state to recognize individual rights. This free market system, in turn, created the world’s largest economy.⁶⁵ As Alan Greenspan pointed out,

“Most other rights that we Americans and others cherish -- protection against extra-legal violence or intimidation by the state, confiscation of property without due process, as well as freedom of speech and of the press, and an absence of discrimination -- are all essential to a fully effective, functioning market system.”⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Tech Law Journal “Bush Says Liberty Creates Innovation Which Creates Wealth,” http://www.techlawjournal.com/series/innovation_03/20031118_bush.asp (accessed 10 January 2016)

⁶⁵ Economy Watch, “World Economy Team, United States Economy 65, June 2013” http://www.economywatch.com/world_economy/usa/ (accessed 6 December 2015)

⁶⁶ Alan Greenspan, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, has made a similar argument. He gave a speech on April 2, 1998, in which he argued that the melding of democracy and human rights with property rights is essential for a well functioning market economy, which in turn, provides for the greatest prosperity. Tech Law Journal, “Series, Innovation,” http://www.techlawjournal.com/series/innovation_03/20031118_bush.asp (accessed 10 January 2016)

American values have translated into a national strategy to pursue global free markets and free trade. The American grand strategy is to prioritize a free market at home and promote free trade and open markets, representing a mirror strategy abroad.

“American leadership,... facilitating international cooperation, burden sharing, and accountability, (has) reduced barriers to trade, and expanded free markets”⁶⁷ The pivot to Asia is one example of the US pursuing a mirror strategy to expand markets.

⁶⁷ U.S. President, *National Security Strategy* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, February 2015), 23.

Conclusion

The elements of the mirror strategy and its rationale in serving American interest were best understood and expressed by President Ronald Reagan in a 1982 speech he said:

"At the root of everything that we're trying to accomplish is the belief that America has a mission. We are a nation of freedom, living under God, believing all citizens must have the opportunity to grow, create wealth, and build a better life for those who follow. If we live up to those moral values, we can keep the American dream alive for our children and our grandchildren, and America will remain mankind's best hope."⁶⁸

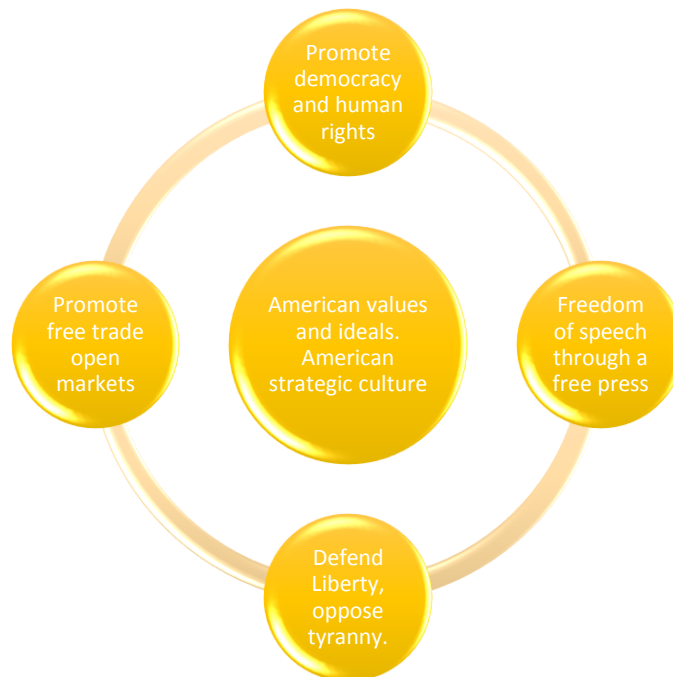


Figure 8 US Grand Strategy Model

In the US, individual liberty and democratic government have led to creativity, innovation, and technological progress, which in turn has resulted in social progress,

⁶⁸ Ronald Regan Presidential Library, "Remarks at a White House Ceremony Celebrating Hispanic Heritage Week, 9/15/1982," <http://www.reaganfoundation.org/reagan-quotes.aspx> (accessed 10 January 2016)

wealth, and prosperity.⁶⁹ These individual rights created a powerful nation that has pursued its interests based on a mirror strategy.

A mirror strategy reveals US grand strategy through the reflection of the elements of national power (DIME). Each part of the DIME derives its power from American values of individual liberty. Diplomacy derives thier power and legitimacy from democratic principles. Democracies, in turn, derive its power from a man's right to participate in the government. Information derives its power and legitimacy from freedom of speech. Military derives its power and legitimacy from the right of self-protection. Economic derives its power and legitimacy from the individual buying and selling goods and services in a free market.

By protecting and promoting individual rights, each element of national power creates a series of collective benefits. A society where individuals participate in the government leads to democracy. Society where there is free speech, supports the development of a free press. Individual economic freedoms collectively create a free market economy. Military power defends these freedoms and promotes freedom in opposition to tyranny.

A central theme of US grand strategy is to allow these collective benefits derived from personal liberties to promote American interests and objectives. US grand strategy, derived from the mirror strategy, focuses on advancing freedom. Diplomacy promotes democratic values, human rights, and personal liberty. Freedom of speech, reflected in press and mass media play a crucial role in providing information that counters the

⁶⁹ Tech Law Journal "Bush Says Liberty Creates Innovation Which Creates Wealth," http://www.techlawjournal.com/series/innovation_03/20031118_bush.asp (accessed 10January 2016)

oppression of tyrannical governments. Military action involves mutual support from other democracies in defense of freedom and opposition to tyranny. Economic Policy supports free trade between nations.

The freedoms the American people declared in the founding documents defined a system of government which in turn, has organically produced a grand strategy that reflects the will and the spirit of the American people. The four freedoms of participative government, freedom of speech, right to self-protection, and the individual's right to buy and sell goods and services in a free market has guided the US in the application of diplomatic, information, military, and economic instruments of power. These freedoms have a multiplying effect. Diplomatic supports the spread of economic and information. It also creates allianus that add to US military power. Information spreads US values and prosperity though multimedia aiding in economic and diplomatic efforts abroad. Military ensures the protection of these individual liberties at home. It also, insures access to markets abroad aiding US economic power. Economic creates the financial engine that support the other elements of national power. Diplomatically it is used to create sanctions. Economic power also aids in the spreads of American values through the sale of multimedia.

Human liberties not only were the driving factor for the creation of the United States, they have also been the critical factor in deploying elements of national power. This sucessful strategy transformed thirteen colonies into the worlds hegemonic power.

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